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Citizen's Course in
FREEDOM vs. COMMUNISM:
The Economics of Survival



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**YOU CAN DO
COMMUNISM**

- 1** The Communist Challenge
- 2** Consumer Control or Controlled Consumers
- 3** Profit Motive or Master Plan
- 4** Who Gets What
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- 6** The Big Picture
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- 8** What You Can Do About Communism



CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES
Washington, D.C.

"I am sure that most Americans believe that our light of freedom is a shining light. As Americans, we should stand up for it, speak for it, and let the world see this light, rather than conceal it."

J. EDGAR HOOVER, Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation

Southwest Texas State University
San Marcos, Texas 78666

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What You Can Do About Communism

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What You Can Do About Communism

TODAY MANY Americans are confused.

They know the United States is at war with the Communists, but they don't know what to do about it.

From Valley Forge to Korea's Heartbreak Ridge, the American people knew what was expected of them in time of war, and they always responded.

They want to respond now, to enlist in the war against Communism, but they don't know what is expected of them.

This pamphlet is intended to guide those who *really* want to do something about Communism.

Pamphlet 1 (*The Communist Challenge*) pointed out that the experts who were consulted in the preparation of this course agreed that the battle against Communism is best waged by action on two broad fronts:

- Working to understand the enemy
- Working to strengthen the United States

The first reaction of most people to these two steps in an anti-Communism program may be disappointment.

They are not bold or dramatic or extreme.

They do not call for heroic deeds in the traditional sense because this war with Communism is not a traditional kind of war.

They avoid irresponsible "Communist-hunting," and acknowledge the competence of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other authorized government agencies to deal with the "card-carrying Communist" and those who do his work.

At the same time, they reflect the collective viewpoint of many of the nation's top anti-Communist authorities, including representatives of major government agencies, on what the individual can do about Communism.

One such representative, an FBI official, told an audience of newspaper writers that "knowledge is the greatest weapon in

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the fight against the Communist conspiracy. Armed with the truth about Communistic evil and cognizant of the basic freedoms which America upholds, our citizens as well as those of the uncommitted lands will be immune to the deadly germ of Communism."

The apparent simplicity of a program built around understanding the Communist enemy and strengthening the United States is deceptive. It can, in fact, challenge your initiative and your imagination, tax your energies, and test your moral fiber.

This course has emphasized the contrast between the economic systems of the United States and of Russia. Maintenance of a strong, dynamic economy is essential in meeting the threat of Communism. But it is only one of the essentials. The challenge of Communism cuts across all areas of our life.

Knowing your enemy and understanding his ideology, tactics and strategy require study and application. But only as we understand Communism can we cope with it and build a defense against it.

Working to strengthen the United States is an even bigger task.

Communism feeds on trouble (often creating trouble where none exists), and in a free, dynamic society there are always problems for the people to solve; problems which Communism tries to exploit in two ways:

1. As the Great Promiser, Communism poses as the answer to any and all problems.
2. As the Great Prevaricator, Communism fans the faintest ember of human discontent into a "flaming example of freedom's failure to meet the needs of the people."

These tactics have traditionally scored greatest advances when people are inclined to take the "easy way out" of their troubles, failing to recognize the long-range pitfalls of neglected individual responsibility.

On the other hand, Communism has suffered its severest reverses where the people acknowledge problems of their society, and realize that the only lasting solutions are those arrived at within the framework of certain basic principles—principles which require individual responsibility and, at the same time,

leave to the individual an undiminished degree of personal freedom.

Working to strengthen America can help us preserve the kind of society in which Communism cannot make headway. A strong America requires military strength and an effective foreign policy. It also requires efforts (1) to know, understand, and live by basic American principles; (2) to accept the responsibilities, as well as the benefits, of freedom; and (3) to help others understand what they can do about Communism.

Working to Step No. 1: Understand the Enemy

The first step we must make in fighting Communism is to understand it. Only as we know its goals, its tactics, its ideology and strategy can we fashion a militant defense against it.

The goal of Communism is clear. *World domination!* On that point, authorities on Communism seldom disagree. Acceptance of this fact is, therefore, basic to an understanding of all Communist tactics and strategy.

To achieve domination, Communism attacks throughout the world.

The Communist movement is international and respects no national boundaries. A direct relationship exists between the crushing of Freedom Fighters in Hungary and the harassment of traffic to West Berlin; between agitation in Laos, Cuba and other parts of the world and the capture of a Russian spy in a New York city tenement room.

All Soviet subversive activities are tied closely together and directed toward the single goal of political and economic domination of the world. From the standpoint of the American people, however, they can be divided for purposes of discussion into "external" activities (those that take place elsewhere in the world) and "internal" activities (those that take place within the United States).

An examination of both "external" and "internal" Communist tactics can help us decide what can be done to meet the Communist challenge.

Communism Around the World

EXPLOSIVE CHANGES ARE taking place in today's world: population explosions in Asia, the Middle East and Latin America; technological explosions in space and in the field of nuclear energy; and economic and social explosions in the so-called underdeveloped areas of the world—sometimes called the "revolution of rising expectations."

Fundamental to the Communist view of international politics is the conviction that these changes are part of a world transition from an outworn social order (capitalism) to a new form of social and economic organization (socialism and, eventually, Communism).

This transition, according to the Communist, is "scientifically inevitable," but nevertheless must be "helped along."

Central to Russian Communist operations in international affairs—to its "helping along" process—is a tactic called "controlled conflict." It is applied to all possible situations—political, economic, cultural, scientific, military. It ranges all the way from diplomatic maneuvers and economic penetration to aggression by native puppet forces (as in Korea and Laos).

A typical and frequently successful Soviet technique to advance the Communist cause follows this general outline:

1. *Create a crisis!* Any kind of a crisis will do, just so it threatens (or appears to threaten) the peace.
 2. *Make exorbitant demands* as the price for easing or settling the Communist-created crisis. The demands are, by design, unreasonable but not outside the possibilities of negotiation.
 3. *Call for negotiation*, depending on world opinion to force the West to "at least sit down and talk things over."
 4. *Agree to compromise* on the initial demands, showing to the world a "reasonable" attitude.
 5. *Consolidate the gains*, relax the crisis and after a time begin the process all over again.
- In short and in terms of today's changing world, "controlled conflict" means keeping things stirred up and at a boiling point. How "controlled conflict" is designed to serve Communist

interests is best illustrated in terms of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Historically, in one way or another, these areas have been tied to the Western Powers. In recent years strong feelings of nationalism have developed. Soviet efforts have been aimed at fanning these nationalistic emotions into blazing resentment of past colonial ties with Western countries.

The Russians believe that by driving a wedge between the underprivileged countries and the West, they will not only deprive the West of access to new markets and raw materials, but will open the way for Soviet "economic assistance" and an opportunity to promote the Soviet state as "a model of economic development."

And most importantly, they believe that by promoting unstable conditions in these areas, the chances for organized Communist takeovers are enhanced.

This is the ultimate goal. There can be no mistake about it. In the words of one observer who interviewed Nikita Khrushchev:

"It was plain that in Khrushchev's view, the 'uncommitted' group of states was a sort of infant class or prep school through which the ex-colonial countries pass before graduating as Socialist states and joining the Socialist camp."

To this latter end, the Russians are conducting large-scale training of native military forces in the Soviet Union. They are moving as rapidly as possible to strengthen local Communist parties which can, today, function within a framework of legal activity, and tomorrow, assume a revolutionary role. And they are taking and making every opportunity to enflame local leaders with nationalism and to encourage outright breaks with the non-Communist world.

While the Communists engage in activities to "win friends" among the uncommitted, they engage, at the same time, in campaigns to divide and weaken the non-(or anti-) Communist peoples of the world. Distinguishing features of such campaigns include:

A concerted effort to discredit the United States and to

shake the confidence of non-Communist nations in the wisdom, responsibility and reliability of American leadership.

A program of threats and warnings directed at countries with American military bases or countries otherwise inclined to align themselves with the United States.

An active program to weaken Western (and increase Communist) influence in Latin America and among the newly-emerging African states.

An effort to exploit the sincere desire for peace in the non-Communist world through propaganda in support of "peaceful coexistence."

(It must be clearly understood, of course, that "peace" to the Communist means non-resistance of the West.)

A drive to persuade the West, under the threat of nuclear war, that the only alternative to all-out war is a "realistic" and "reasonable" adjustment to "peace"—on Soviet terms.

Dr. Stefan T. Possony, professor of international politics at the graduate school of Georgetown University, uses the word "paralyze" as a primary objective of Communist strategy.

He told the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee:

The achievement of a military, political and psychological paralysis of the free world is a paramount objective of Soviet strategy...

Propaganda on disarmament, specifically nuclear disarmament, and disarmament negotiations are an integral part of the Soviet strategy aimed at paralyzing the free world and strengthening the power of Communism.

Soviet strategy is based, on the one hand, on achieving optimal military power and building and strengthening Communist political armies throughout the free world.

On the other hand, Soviet strategy utilizes massive deception to bring about through (a) the unilateral military weakening of the free world, (b) the moral paralysis of free world governments, and (c) the demoralization of public opinion, the capitulation of the United States.

Communism In the United States

BEFORE CONSIDERING ways to deal with the Communists' attack all over the world, we should look at Communism in

the United States. A major task of Communists in the United States is to play a role in the "controlled conflict" that lies at the heart of Soviet foreign policy. They assist in creating the crises, in confusing the issues, in discrediting the United States, and in weakening the will of the American people to resist. Communist Party members everywhere are "religiously" dedicated to the overthrow of any non-Communist state—by force, if necessary. The destruction of private enterprise and democratic forms of government are primary goals of the Marxian doctrine to which all Communists pledge complete allegiance.

This goal alone would make the Communist Party a threat. But the threat is intensified by the fact that the party in the United States is inspired and completely controlled by the International Communist movement which emanates—and takes direction—from Moscow.

The Communist Party, USA, was organized in 1919. For the first 10 years, the party openly proclaimed its revolutionary goals. Members openly fomented social unrest throughout the country.

Two years after the Communists organized in the United States, they were admitted to membership in the Communist International (Comintern), but only after agreeing to abide by all decisions of the Comintern, and binding themselves to support the Soviet Union in the event of war between Russia and the United States.

During the depression of the 1930s, Communism "capitalized" on the miseries of the unemployed and promoted itself as an "alternative to economic collapse". Its membership grew.

During that period, Communism had particular success within the American labor movement, ultimately gaining control of 11 unions. However, labor struck back in 1949 and 1950 when the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO) expelled these Communist-dominated unions which, by then, represented more than 700,000 workers.

Despite determined and, to an overwhelming degree, successful efforts by organized labor to keep its ranks free of Communists, the American unions remain—as in the days of Lenin

—a major target of Communist recruitment in the United States.

In the late '30s, the rise of Fascism in Germany and Italy provided an opportunity for Communism to don the cloak of "20th Century Americanism". Behind the facade of anti-fascism, the party lured many prominent Americans—business and professional people, labor leaders, educators, writers, artists, entertainers, clergymen and government leaders—into unwittingly fostering Communist causes and stifling anti-Communist viewpoints.

Russian control of the Communist Party, USA, forced the party into a series of tragically-comic zig-zags just before America's entry into World War II.

Having hewed to its anti-fascist line during the '30s, the party-line did an about-face when Moscow and Nazi Germany signed a non-aggression pact. Anti-Hitler and anti-Mussolini propaganda stopped abruptly. Instead, American Communists began trumpeting propaganda aimed at discouraging United States participation in the war against Germany and Italy.

"An imperialist war", it was called.

Hitler's invasion of Russia, however, was the signal for a switch back to anti-fascism and America's "obligation to join the Holy War" against Fascism.

With the United States and Russia allied, American Communists became "super-patriots". Efforts to cripple capitalism were postponed "for the duration".

Near the close of World War II, the party's membership reached its numerical zenith—about 80,000. After hostilities ceased, revival of the party's primary goal—destruction of a republican form of government in the United States—was followed by a perceptible decline in the membership. Helped considerably by vigorous government action, through legislation and legal steps, the party's ranks of known members dropped to 22,600 by 1955. In recent years the decline has continued.

Despite a declining membership (or perhaps because of a declining membership), the Communist menace in the United States has continued to increase, due perhaps to the mistaken

impression that Communism represents a small dissident element and, therefore, need not be feared.

Actually, Communist strength cannot be measured in numbers and is not, even by Communists. The late William Z. Foster, former chairman of the Communist Party, USA, who died in Moscow in September 1961, once said, "We no longer measure the importance of revolutionary organizations by size. In some places where there are only one or two men, more results are obtained than where they have larger organizations". How do they do it?

Communists, by Degrees

FEW MEN know more about the Communist problem in the United States than J. Edgar Hoover. In perhaps the only area of agreement between Mr. Hoover and Foster, the FBI chief echoes the statement that the success of the Communist movement in America does not depend on the number of card-carrying members in the party.

Success depends on the number of people whom the card-carrying member can influence and on those who, for one reason or another, do the work of the party, wittingly or unwittingly.

"Communists are classified in five groups," Mr. Hoover reports. "The open party member; the concealed member, fellow travellers and sympathizers, the opportunists and the 'dupes'."

The *open party member* is a full-fledged revolutionary, fully indoctrinated and pledged to be loyal to the party at all times. He is depended on to commit, and is capable of committing espionage, derailing a train, organizing riots and performing other acts of sabotage.

"If asked, gun in hand, to assault the Capitol of the United States, he would be expected to obey," Mr. Hoover has said.

The *concealed Communist* is difficult to identify and is often unknown to the regular members of the party. Only the top leaders know of his membership. Usually he is a prominent individual and, being concealed, can operate freely in non-Communist groups.

Because of his prominence, the concealed member is a power-

ful asset to the party, lending respectability to any movement of which he becomes a part.

Fellow travellers and sympathizers are not members of the party. However, they will actively support the Communist cause for a given time and on most specific issues—such as a softer policy toward Cuba; “justice” for the Rosenbergs, etc. They are particularly valuable as financial contributors, spokesmen or as contacts between party officials and non-Communists.

The *opportunist* has little or no interest in the goals of Communism as a philosophy. He does, however, support it knowingly and enthusiastically if he can see personal benefit through such association or activity—perhaps a position of influence should the party come into power.

Dupes are the innocent victims of Communism. They are individuals who are unwittingly under Communist influence and, consequently, do the work of the party. They are misled into believing that a cause or position is in the interests of something generally considered desirable—liberalism, justice, humanity, etc.—and are motivated to “front” for Communist effort.

For the most part, the dupe is more dangerous than the open party member because he lends to the Communist cause his own respectability.

Ironically, the dupe suffers more than the bona fide party member when exposure takes place. Public exposure, plus the knowledge that he has been “used”, brings a humiliation to the dupe that would not affect a full-fledged revolutionary.

And yet untold numbers of respected Americans continue to do the work of the Communist Party.

“A tragedy of the past generation in the United States,” Mr. Hoover says, “is that so many persons, including high-ranking statesmen, public officials, educators, ministers of the gospel, professional men, have been duped into helping Communism.”

At this point, a word of caution: Because someone supports a position which is consistent with that taken by the Communists, do not conclude that he is a Communist or even a fellow traveller or dupe. But be alert to those whose position changes as the Communist line changes. This is the real clue.

For example, there are many people in the United States who oppose testing of nuclear explosives. They express fear for the future of mankind due to “fallout” from test bombs. They are vocal in their opposition.

Until the fall of 1961, their position on nuclear testing was consistent with that of Nikita Khrushchev. However, the Communist line on nuclear testing shifted to support the Soviet’s decision to resume tests.

Those who continue to oppose nuclear testing—*by any country*—may be sincere. Those who shift positions to get back into harmony with Khrushchev are strongly suspect.

The Communist Attraction

Because COMMUNISM IS THE “Great Promiser”, offering all things to all men, it has a great many attractions and, consequently, there is no single or simple answer to the question, “Why would an American become a Communist?”

One fact is clear. No identifiable group—racial, religious or national origin—within our society is, of itself, more susceptible to Communist propaganda than any other group. No particular level of economic standing—rich or poor—is the spawning ground for Communists. Communists have come from wealthy homes as well as slums. No degree of formal education or lack of it can account for membership in the Communist cause.

Rather, each individual who joins Communism is a case in himself, looking for something in Communism that he has not found in a free society.

For instance, Communism seems to appeal to some self-styled “intellectual humanitarians” who feel intellectually superior and driven to find a “more significant” way of serving their fellow man. They see themselves as “knowing best” what is good for humanity and responsible for finding the means to a better life for the average man.

On the other hand, Communism seems to be a haven for some who cannot make a place for themselves in society; the person who doesn’t “get along” with others; who doesn’t seem to fit. To such a person, Communism offers comradeship, a chance to be useful and (they are told) to earn the respect of their associates.

Some converts to Communism are looking for a place on the "bandwagon". They believe the Communist "pitch" that history and destiny are on the side of Communism; that its rise to power is inevitable. They see an opportunity to rise with the movement.

Communism's basic appeal, in any case, is the promise of change. To some, change means *change from* something: unemployment, discrimination of one form or another, world political tension. To others, change means *change to* something: a position of power, prestige or, simply, acceptance.

The "sales appeal" is, of course, tailored to the prospective customer.

There are four main types of appeal:

(1) Economic; (2) sociological; (3) political, and (4) psychological.

The *Economic Appeal* is the so-called "bread-and-butter" approach: you are in a bad economic position now; things will be better under Communism. This approach has had some success with those who feel that "things can't get any worse; so I'll try Communism".

The *Sociological Appeal* magnifies evidence of discrimination, crime and corruption in a free society. It hammers at housing, education and medical care problems when and where they exist and takes on the role of a champion of social protest. The *Political Appeal* spotlights what is called the "efficiency of the Communist system". Soviet achievement since the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 is cited as living proof that the Communist way is best.

The *Psychological Appeal* is the simplest and, perhaps, the most effective. It takes advantage of deep-seated wants and, consequently, need not call on either evidence or logic to support its appeal. All that is needed is an ability to recognize an individual's longing to be part of a cause, a movement or a fraternity, and to transfer that longing into loyalty to the Communist Party.

In recent years the Communists have directed a heavy psychological barrage in behalf of the "universal longing for world peace." They have preached "peaceful coexistence" (while

doing everything possible to spread Communist revolution throughout the world); disarmament (while refusing to permit controls and inspection that would insure compliance with disarmament agreements), and bans on nuclear weapons tests (again, refusing practical inspection safeguards, and preparing secretly to start new tests).

Because this psychological barrage is tied to widely-accepted goals, such as "peace", this kind of Communist propaganda has great potential.

These, then, are the four principal appeals which Communists make for support all over the world, including the United States.

Unfortunately, many people are taken in by them.

Communists at Work

WHEN COMMUNIST FOSTER said: "We no longer measure the importance of revolutionary organization by size," he was paying tribute to certain tactics with which all Americans should be familiar.

Infiltration is one of the older, more popular techniques of the party. Members work themselves into positions of authority in established and respectable organizations, in order to use those organizations as an instrument to advance Communism.

The infiltration tactic works this way:

At a routine meeting of an organization (civic, service, business, labor, professional, etc.), the small Communist minority will initiate every conceivable delaying tactic to prolong the meeting. Gradually the non-Communist members will drift home, irked at the lengthy meeting, but not suspecting the real purpose of the delay.

Finally, the Communists will be in a numerical position to influence the organization's course of action and perhaps elect one of their own to a key position.

On other occasions—in organizations where membership activity, interest and initiative is, at best, apathetic—Communists may gain control by default, by accepting responsibilities that other members decline "because I'm too busy".

Forming Front Organizations is another favorite Communist device. A "front" is an organization controlled by Communists,

with or without the knowledge of the general membership. It may be newly-created by the Communists or it may be an old established group which has been infiltrated.

All "front" organizations have one thing in common: their titles connote something acceptable, such as the titles of the following organizations which are listed as "subversive" by the Attorney General of the United States:

American Peace Crusade

American Women for Peace

Citizens Emergency Defense Conference

Committee for the Protection of the Bill of Rights

Committee for World Youth Friendship and Cultural Exchange

League for Common Sense

However, behind the title and the letterhead, the purpose is the same: to advance the cause of Communism.

Each "front" organization is active in its own way. Some organize agitation campaigns, lobby for or against legislation and supply speakers for non-Communist groups.

The Communist "front" is probably the most successful tactic used by Communists in non-Communist countries. Through the "front", the Communists can speak to thousands of non-Communists, raise large sums of money and work to influence the minds of respectable thought and opinion leaders, reaching individuals the party in its own name could never hope to approach.

Mass Agitation is a Communist tactic more dramatic than infiltration or "front" organizations. Its purpose is to stir up resentment against "the way things are" in any given area, and is often carried on through "fronts" in many specialized fields such as student groups, labor unions, women's organizations, and among farmers, veterans, professional, racial and nationality organizations.

Mass agitation, much of it Communist-instigated and Communist-directed, resulted in the riots during the visit of former Vice President Nixon to Venezuela and caused the cancellation of former President Eisenhower's visit to Japan. Infiltration, "front" organizations and mass agitation are the principal "out-in-the-open" activities of Communists in the

United States. But at the same time they are ready to carry out espionage and sabotage operations when or if the time is right.

There are many networks—legal and illegal—with in the Communist espionage system; the "legal" networks are made up primarily of Russian or Russian-controlled diplomats and other foreign government representatives in the United States. "Illegal" networks include "spy rings" which are controlled by Moscow.

Another Communist tactic which is used from time to time is a program called "colonization". It is designed to place concealed Communists in key positions in United States industrial and defense facilities, including the Armed Forces. Then, should the party decide, these "colonizers" would be able to commit the necessary espionage or sabotage.

What a Communist is Not

THROUGHOUT THESE PAMPHLETS, the emphasis has been on what the Communist is and what his system stands for. However, the dedicated Communist—whose aims are the overthrow of the United States government and eventual world domination—frequently poses in sheep's clothing. He masquerades in the uniform of one or more elements of an acceptable society.

Some of these disguises are penetrated and exposed in a publication of the Quaker Oats Company, based on the Hoover book, *Masters of Deceit*:

Communists are NOT Liberals. Liberalism is a false trap used to catch non-Communists. The word "liberal" has a fine, upright meaning and is symbolic of a great historic tradition. That is why the Communists appropriate the term for their use. Communism is the very opposite of liberalism. Liberalism, in a true sense, means increased rights for the citizens . . . freedom of speech, religion and the press. Communism means fewer and fewer rights for the private citizen, curtailment of freedom of speech and press and worship of God.

Communism is NOT Progressive. The opposite is true. Communists are barbarians in modern dress, using both club and blood to purge. Shortly before 1700, Peter the Great came to

the throne in Russia. He was a ruthless dictator who subjugated everybody—the church, the nobles and the peasants.

Communists have inherited this tradition. With modern, efficient tools, such as the secret police, the army, the control of communications, they have increased tyranny. This is not progress, but a turning backward, throwing away the fruits of history, religion and free government.

Communists are NOT social reformers. They detest democratic reforms because they know such changes will make the free government stronger, hence less likely to be overthrown by revolution. Their espousal of reforms (higher wages, better working conditions, elimination of racial discrimination) is strictly a revolutionary tactic. Communism's goal is world revolution. Any device that will advance its cause is urgently pursued.

Communists do NOT believe in democracy. Nearly everyone is familiar with the fables of Aesop, such as "The Fox and the Crow". Often the point of the story is not directly stated, but must be inferred by the reader. This same "round-about" presentation is often used by Communists. In Aesopian language, they say one thing and mean another. Like the word "democracy": To us it means free speech, free elections, or the right of minorities to exist. To a Communist, "democracy" means the domination of the State, the complete supremacy of the party.

Communists are NOT American. The Communist Party, USA, endeavors in every possible way to convince this country that it is American. The Communist movement was born abroad, imported into the United States and grew up under the personal direction of Russian leaders in Moscow. The Kremlin has never relinquished that control. The Communist Party, USA, employs every form of treason and trickery to bring about ultimate domination of the United States by a foreign power. Communism stands for everything Americans abhor: slave camps, rigged elections, purges and dictatorship.

Step No. 2: Working to Strengthen the United States

Meeting the International Challenge

WE HAVE SEEN that the Communists are working relentlessly throughout the world. They have a goal—world domination.

To help them achieve that goal they seek to weaken the United States in every possible way and to undermine other governments favorable to the West.

Most important, they are seeking to destroy our will to resist. They know that if they can destroy our desire to preserve freedom they have won.

The foreign policy of the United States is primarily the responsibility of our National government and of its elected and appointed officials.

What can you—the individual—do to help stall the Communists drive toward world domination?

Here are three things you can do to start:

First, you can develop your interests in and your knowledge of the problems faced by the Free World in meeting the Communist challenge throughout the world. You can read and discuss and develop informed opinions on the character of this nation's foreign policy goals, and examine carefully and critically (though constructively) proposals suggested to achieve these goals.

Second, you are obligated to express your informed opinions to responsible government officials. The Office of Public Affairs of the Department of State has as a principal purpose the serious consideration of public opinion on world issues. Senators and Representatives welcome communications that express viewpoints on the posture of the United States in foreign affairs.

The President of the United States wants the guidance of the people who assigned him to carry out their wishes. His office is continually seeking out opinions and attitudes through which he can evaluate the will of the people. Voluntary expressions to him are received gratefully.

Third, you can do much to shape the image of America in

the eyes of the rest of the world. Through personal contacts with foreign visitors to the United States, as a tourist to other lands, in letters to relatives and friends living abroad, each individual American has the opportunity to characterize the kind of nation on which the rest of the Free World is relying. It is easy to brush off these points, to say that the individual's opinion in foreign affairs is unimportant.

Obviously, you cannot be expected to be an expert in the detailed intricacies of day-to-day foreign relations.

But in a free society, the responsibility of the individual in all matters—including foreign affairs—is inescapable. Ultimate power resides with the people. No foreign policy program, no matter how good, can be successful unless it is supported by the majority of the people.

Here is a simple case study. How would you evaluate a report prepared for the Senate Foreign Relations Committee? Do you agree or disagree with the six points it outlines as a basis for the development of foreign policy?

1. Preservation of our freedom must be the primary objective of United States foreign policy. An *absolute* pursuit of peace, under present conditions, would only result in our surrender to Soviet domination.

2. Both in the interests of peace and in order to protect the non-Communist world against piecemeal disintegration, the United States should do everything necessary to prevent an imbalance of military power in the Soviet favor.

3. We must be prepared for a continuation of the conflict into the indefinite future. Tension, relaxation, crises, and adjustments are to be expected and accepted as normal and recurrent features of the international scene.

4. The American public should have a steady, unemotional understanding of the fundamental nature of the conflict to avoid wild swings from optimism to despair. Otherwise, we lend ourselves to manipulation by "atmospheric" changes in Soviet policy.

5. The United States and its allies should mobilize all avail-

able instrumentalities—military, political, economic—to resist the further extension of Soviet power and influence.

6. We should be prepared to encourage the Soviet Union to consider the mutual advantages of adjustment where possible, keeping channels of negotiation open and active but without excessive hope or sterile pessimism.

Do you agree or disagree with these six points? How could an *absolute* pursuit of peace result only in our surrender? What danger is there in wild swings of public opinion from optimism to despair? How—specifically—do you think we should mobilize all available instrumentalities—military, political, economic—to resist the further extension of Soviet power and influence? What does this mean in terms of a realistic foreign aid program that will help other nations maintain their independence?

You may not set foreign policy in the United States. But no effective foreign policy can be set or followed through without the support and understanding of you and your neighbors.

Communists are seeking to promote the idea that Communism is not only "inevitable," but it is also "invincible." The spectacular success of Russian satellites and Khrushchev's incessant rattling of "H-bombs" must be kept in perspective. The Free World is not without resources.

The Central Intelligence Agency has estimated that in 1965, the Western Alliances would still produce some 69 percent of the World's Gross National Product, as compared to 31 percent produced by the Sino-Soviet bloc. Industrial production would be even a shade higher—some 70 percent—as compared to the 30 percent of the Soviet Union and its satellites.

The United States and its allies possess awesome power. But we must make sure the Communists do not achieve the "moral paralysis" and the demoralization of public opinion" they seek.

It is imperative that Soviet leaders are not led to underestimate either our strength or our *resolution*.

Says Dr. Possony:

To convince the Kremlin that we are not about to commit suicide—or are we going to tolerate our destruction—su-

perior strength, sustained firmness, greater willingness to assume risks, and at long last greater comprehension of the real nature of the Communist threat, are mandatory. True to its traditions, the United States will prove worthy of its responsibilities.

Meeting the Domestic Challenge

Know, Understand and Live by Basic American Principles

ALL OF THE TACTICS of the Communist Party in the United States—*infiltration, use of dupes, the shifting party line, etc.*—are designed to build up the strength of the Communist Party and to weaken the United States.

Here is a significant excerpt from a statement by J. Edgar Hoover:

If these tactics are successful, the Communists will have been accepted as the leaders of the "masses" who, in turn, will be led to believe that there is a need for a drastic transformation of the entire social system; and non-Communist opposition will have been weakened and divided to the point of hopeless confusion. In short, the party will have successfully laid the groundwork for launching the actual revolution.

This is the real meaning of the Communist Party line, which promises all things to all men. It is skillfully designed to appeal to people from every walk of life, and, at the same time to confuse the public by blending proposals ostensibly sponsored by the Communists with those of legitimate organizations.

The uninformed citizen is thus doubly misled. He may accept the party line at its face value, without realizing that it is just another Communist tactic, and erroneously conclude that the party is a legitimate political group which is sincerely interested in promoting these issues. Or, he may make the equally dangerous assumption that anyone who advocates proposals similar to those which make up the party line is automatically a Communist. Because Communism thrives on turmoil, the party is continuously attempting to exploit all grievances—real or imagined—for its own tactical purposes. It is, therefore, almost inevitable that, on many issues, the party line will coincide with the position of many non-Communists. The danger of indiscriminately alleging that some-

one is a Communist merely because his views on a particular issue happen to parallel the official party position is obvious. The confusion which is thereby created helps the Communists by diffusing the forces of their opponents.

Unfortunately, there are those who make the very mistake the Communists are so careful to avoid. These individuals concentrate on the negative rather than on the positive. They are merely eliminate the social, political, and economic frictions which the Communists are so adept at exploiting.

These persons would do well to recall a recent lesson from history. Both Hitler and Mussolini were against Communism. However, it was by what they stood for, not against, that history has judged them.

Every American has things to stand for!

Our entire social structure—using the term in the broad sense as including economic, political and social institutions—is built on principles.

You know many of these principles. They are related to individual freedom and voluntary action, rather than state coercion. They include such things as:

Freedom of religious worship and practice
Freedom of speech, assembly and movement within the country

The right to own land, a home and means of production
The right to work at occupations and locations of one's own choice, according to one's ability

The right to a secret vote in selecting one's leaders and the right to political beliefs and opinions of one's own choosing.

We have many such freedoms, deeply rooted in our heritage and laws. A sacrifice of personal time is required just to become familiar with them.

The basic aim of the Communists, as Mr. Hoover points out, is the *drastic transformation of the entire social system*. To accomplish this, they must weaken our belief in our present system and in the principles that underlie it. We have a dynamic, evolving society. Change is inevitable. But proposals

for change must always be weighed from the standpoint of their effect on the basic principles that undergird our society. If we understand basic American principles and live by them we are not likely to be "dopes" of the Communist Party.

Accept the Responsibilities as Well as

The Benefits of Freedom

IN THE FIRST PAMPHLET of this series, the cornerstone of our American system was identified as *Individual Freedom*.

And in succeeding pamphlets, individual freedom was shown to be a "living thing", part of our everyday lives. It became evident that the individual, through free choice, actually dictates to the biggest of business enterprises, how he wants this country's resources used. For example, when Americans wanted compact cars, automobile manufacturers were compelled to give them what they wanted.

And it became evident, too, that in his role as a citizen, the American individual directs the affairs of government—local, state and national.

But freedom has a counterpart—a twin! It is called *Individual Responsibility!*

In a booklet entitled "Rights and Responsibilities", John Broger, Director, Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense, lists 71 basic rights of Americans and their corresponding responsibilities. To round out the picture, Mr. Broger added a third item—the "opposite" of each freedom which necessarily follows neglected responsibility.

For example, we cherish our right to political beliefs and opinions of our own choosing and compare this freedom with a system in which the only political beliefs tolerated are those that are in accord with the interests of the State.

If we accept this freedom, however, we have a responsibility to hear all sides of the question, come to intelligent conclusions which benefit the nation and the community and which expand individual freedom.

When such responsibilities are neglected, the "opposite" of the freedom threatens—a system in which only political views in accord with the interests of the State are tolerated.

A selected few of the "Rights and Responsibilities" are reprinted at the end of this pamphlet. When related to current events and everyday living, they present clear-cut opportunities for the individual who wants to "do something" about Communism.

Acceptance of freedom's responsibilities implies demonstrations of good citizenship. It means, for example:

- Respecting the law and setting an example for others.
- Teaching respect for the law and the rights of others to children.
- Participating actively in the processes of self-government—working for the political party and candidates of your choice. Casting your vote, even if it means standing in line to do it.
- Studying political and legislative issues and taking a stand on the basis of informed judgment.

Accepting all the responsibilities of citizenship frequently may involve some personal sacrifice. But sacrifice has always been expected—and made willingly—during time of war.

Some responsibilities of good citizenship are of such commonplace simplicity that they frequently are overlooked. They require, for example, personal time and assistance to . . .

- Youth Activities:
Boy and Girl Scouts, Little League, Teen Clubs
- COMMUNITY Groups:
Civic Association, Service Clubs, Chambers of Commerce
- School Groups:
Parent-Teacher Associations, Visitation Programs
- WORTHY FUND CAMPAIGNS:
Community Chest, United Givers Fund, Red Cross, etc.
- CHURCH ACTIVITIES:
Men's Clubs, Building Fund Campaigns

Tied in with responsibility are personal demonstrations of high moral standards and of traditional patriotism. While it is true that the moral code of most Americans is as high as it was 100 years ago, some exceptions that received an unusual amount of publicity generated widespread public reaction. Further, the exposures were held up to the world, not as exceptions, but as evidence of "soft and decadent" capitalism.

Among the exploited exceptions were:

"Point-shaving" by college basketball players

Anti-trust convictions of businessmen
Cheating on college examinations by an entire football team

Mismanagement by labor officials of union member funds

Contrary evidence—that the American moral code remains inflexible and high—is rarely "news," is seldom publicized in our own newspapers and never by the Communists.

Strengthening America also involves a revitalization of individual patriotism, and a willingness to display love of country for all to see and understand.

It is a mysterious truth that some men would rather fight on the front lines than sing the "Star Spangled Banner". It would, therefore, be leaping to a conclusion to presume—for instance—that because the flag is not as nationally displayed on Flag Day and the Fourth of July as it once was, national love of country has diminished.

It is not fancy, however, that a demonstration of faith in our country discourages those whose interests would best be served by a weakening of such faith.

An American's heritage is a great one. To know it and "tell the world" is not and never will be old-fashioned.

Help Others Understand What They Can Do About Communism

ANOTHER FBI OFFICIAL, Assistant Director William C. Sullivan, set the tone for a discussion of what the individual can do to fight Communism when he said:

"Don't fear Communism. Face it with confidence. Face it with the knowledge that our way of life is far superior to Communism and that Communism cannot possibly win this kind of war—unless we default. We will never default."

By undertaking this study of contrasting systems—Freedom and Communism—you have begun to equip yourself to meet the challenge of International Communism, to recognize it when you see its evidences—in your newspaper or on television, among your associates, on the job, and in the groups of which you are a part.

Also you have equipped yourself to recognize efforts to weaken but nonetheless dangerous efforts to weaken the American way of economic life and make it fair game for the Communist thrust.

By developing this ability to recognize efforts to weaken America, you will be assuming an even greater part of the American offensive against Communism.

But you have only begun. The kind of understanding you have acquired must be spread to others. The truth about Communism and Freedom must be understood by your friends and neighbors, your employees and your customers, shopkeepers, farmers, teachers, educators, clergymen, thought and opinion leaders in your community—and particularly young people.

One way in which this understanding can spread is through broader participation in organized training and discussion groups. You can help *convince others* that the end result is worth the time and effort involved.

You can exercise your influence on organizations in which you are an active member, or in which you *should be* an active member. The potential for good work on the part of Parent-Teacher Associations, civic groups, church organizations, women's clubs is endless. You can be the force that motivates such groups to action.

You can, of course, insist that your children be taught to understand the menace of Communism. As a citizen of your community, you can insist that Americanism and its principles be made an integral part of the formal education process.

Parents, however, cannot delegate the responsibility to the schools or churches. They must, themselves, guide their children to an appreciation of values needed to keep democracy strong and the responsibilities that are part and parcel of our rights as free peoples.

The United States is the strongest nation in the world. It will be even stronger—if you help make it so by knowing, understanding and living by basic American principles and by accepting the responsibilities as well as the blessings of freedom.

FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION

1. Learn all you can about Communism; read, listen and take part in organized discussions.
2. Learn more about Freedom; equip yourself through reading and through discussion programs with an understanding of basic American principles: ideological, political, economic.
3. Foster and protect the strength of basic American institutions: church, civic and community organizations. Participate actively in and help organize programs that contribute to better understanding of the contrast between Freedom and Communism.
4. Display patriotism and faith in America. Teach your children that love of country is never old-fashioned. We have a heritage in which we can take rightful pride.
5. Participate in the processes of a free government. Be active in the political party of your choice, and cast an *informed* vote at election time. Study both issues and candidates.
6. Maintain high personal moral and good citizenship standards; help teach high standards to young people.
7. Create a good image of America when you're abroad; when meeting foreign visitors to the United States, and when corresponding with friends or relatives overseas.
8. Work to solve local problems on which Communist agitation and propaganda feed: racial, religious, economic or political.
9. Learn to recognize the "party line" and to counteract it with the truth; speak up for freedom. Don't let an untruth about America go unchallenged.
10. Guard against Communist infiltration in community and work groups. Learn how member apathy enables outsiders to take over an organization.
11. Urge members of your school board to make the teaching of basic principles of freedom and democracy compulsory in the schools; encourage courses that expose the aims and operations of Communism.
12. Keep an active, informed interest in world affairs. Be aware that what happens around the world has a profound effect on your community and your country.
13. Urge your government to stand firm against international Communism: write your opinions to appropriate executive agencies—State Department and the President—and to your representatives in Congress.
14. Write to newspaper and magazine editors, to officials of radio and television stations and networks, requesting articles and programs designed to alert the country to the Communist challenge and what the individual can do about it.
15. Encourage all steps to keep the United States strong, militarily, economically, morally and politically.
16. Learn to analyze national and state legislative proposals in terms of their long run effect on the strength of America.
17. Don't jump to conclusions about your neighbor's loyalty to America just because he doesn't agree with your viewpoint. Reckless "name-calling" serves the Communist cause and weakens efforts to ferret out Communists.
18. Leave "Communist-hunting" to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, and other authorized government agencies.

Democracy Offers Rights and Freedoms: It Requires Acceptance of Responsibilities

Following are selected excerpts from a booklet, "Rights and Responsibilities", prepared by John Broger, Director, Armed Forces Information and Education, Department of Defense. The booklet contrasts the basic rights we enjoy as Americans with the absence of those rights under Communism, and cites some of the responsibilities we must accept to preserve our rights and freedoms.

UNDER FREEDOM		UNDER COMMUNISM	
RIGHTS	RESPONSIBILITIES	RIGHTS	RESPONSIBILITIES
The Right to political beliefs and opinions of your own choice.	Responsibility to hear all sides of the question, come to intelligent conclusions which benefit the nation and the community and which expand individual freedom.	Only political beliefs consonant with the interests of the State are tolerated.	Responsibility of individuals to utilize the right of private ownership of land, dwellings, and means of production for purposes beneficial to others as well as themselves.
The Right to a secret vote for the candidate of your choice.	Responsibility of the individual to exercise this right conscientiously and to vote for the candidate best qualified to serve the nation and its citizens.	Balloting permitted for single list of the State's candidates only. No secret ballot even where "dummy" ballot is permitted.	The Right to work at occupations and locations of one's own choice according to his ability.
The Right to be presumed legally innocent until proven guilty by public trial.	Responsibility to refrain from premature judgment where justice is concerned.	The Right to compete for jobs and in the production or sale of goods or services.	The Right to work at occupations and locations of one's own choice according to his ability.
The Right to equal, impartial justice under law.	Responsibility to respect and support legal protection of all individuals.	The Right to privacy and protection of your home and family.	Responsibility to respect the privacy of another's home and family and to support their protection.
		The State predetermines the trial, guilt, verdict and punishment of the accused and places the burden of proof of innocence upon the accused without regard for individual rights.	The State has a complete monopoly on all jobs, goods, services, and means of production, and will tolerate no competition from other sources.
			The State enters your home at any time for any purpose without your consent and can deprive you of it at will; exercises complete control over the family, separates its members and uses or abuses them at will.

UNDER FREEDOM

UNDER COMMUNISM

RIGHTS	RESPONSIBILITIES
The Right to protection from arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.	Responsibility to respect, uphold and support justice, law and order for all.
The Right to protection from torture or other degrading punishment and mistreatment.	Responsibility to refrain and hinder others from practices which lead to torture or degrading punishment or treatment.
The right to freedom of religious worship and practice according to one's own choice.	Responsibility of the individual not to infringe on the right or freedom of movement of others.
The Right to equal educational opportunity to the extent of one's individual ability and interest.	Responsibility of individuals and religious groups to teach and practice the highest order of spiritual and moral relationships.
The Responsibility to respect the rights of others, to acquire an education to the extent of one's interest and ability, and in learning or teaching to relate the rights of individual liberty with all techniques, skills and scientific advancement.	All belief and worship is of the State as supreme, with no recognition of a higher Supreme authority.
The Right to search for truth.	The Responsibility to remain open-minded, to resist prejudice and to evaluate continuously one's beliefs to assure conformity with ethical standards and the dignity and rights of the individual.

Suggested Reading

BAUER, RAYMOND, ET AL., *How the Soviet System Works*, Vintage Russian Library. 1960. \$1.25. An assessment of the social and psychological strengths and weaknesses of the Soviet system based on hundreds of interviews with refugees from the Soviet Union.

BUDENZ, LOUIS, *The Techniques of Communism*, Henry Regnery. 1954, \$5.00. A former American Communist analyzes Communist methods of subverting a nation. Budenz examines, among other things, Communist training of infiltrators, the role of the press, infiltrating education and government agencies, and the use of minority groups.

CHAMBERS, WHITTAKER, *Witness*, Random House. 1952, \$5.00. This is the autobiography of the former American Communist who was instrumental in exposing Alger Hiss.

COLECROVE, KENNETH, *Democracy Versus Communism*, Van Nostrand. 1957, \$4.95. Textbook written especially for the high school student. It portrays differences in terms of human experiences and forcefully outlines the unique advantages of democracy.

DALLIN, DAVID J., *The Changing World of Soviet Russia*, Yale University Press, New Haven. 1956, \$6.00. A survey of Soviet history in three parts: Social Revolution in Russia; The Soviet System; and Foreign Policy.

EVANS, JOSEPH E., *Through Soviet Windows*, Dow Jones & Co., New York. 1957, \$1.00. A readable discussion by a reporter for the *Wall Street Journal* on the Russian economy with special emphasis on how the Russian people work and live.

FARNSON, MERLE, *How Russia Is Ruled*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge. 1953, \$7.50. A complete and authoritative study of the Soviet government.

HARN, WALTER F. and NEFF, JOHN C., editors, *American Strategy for the Nuclear Age*, Doubleday-Anchor. 1960, \$1.45. A collection of thirty-three essays by American statesmen, military experts, scholars, and international business men resulting in an enlightening analysis of Communist strategy versus Free World strategy.

HOOVER, J. EDGAR, *Masters of Deceit*, Holt and Company, New York 1958, \$5.00. This book by the FBI Director is a valuable primer on Communism, what goes on underground, how discipline is enforced, and why this is no time for complacency.

HUNT, R. N. CAREW, *The Theory and Practice of Communism*, Macmillan, New York. 1957, \$4.00. Deals with the basis of Communist theory; the rise of the European labor movement in the nineteenth century, and relates Marxist principles to the changing conditions of the twentieth century.

KULSKI, W. W., *The Soviet Regime*, Syracuse University Press, Syracuse. 1954, \$8.00. A standard reference work on the U. S. S. R. and on Communism in practice.

MEISSNER, BORIS, *The Communist Party of the Soviet Union*, Praeger,

New York, 1956, \$5.00. Traces the development of the Communist Party in Russia from the Nineteenth Party Congress through the Twentieth Party Congress.

OVERSTREET, HARRY and BONARO, *The War Called Peace*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1961, \$4.50. Analysis of Khrushchev's Communism.

OVERSTREET, HARRY and BONARO, *What We Must Know About Communism*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1958, \$3.95. A study of the character of the Communist menace, what is at stake, and what needs to be done.

PASSOXY, STEFAN T., *Analysis of the Khrushchev speech of January 6*. Senate Document No. 46, 87th Congress, 1st Session. Superintendent of Documents, U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. 1961. Testimony presented to the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee by a professor of international politics at the graduate school of Georgetown University. Analyzes future Communist strategy as outlined by Khrushchev in a significant speech.

ROSTROW, WALT W., *The Dynamics of Soviet Society*, W. W. Norton and Co., New York, 1953, \$2.85. Covers the evolution of Soviet rule, the higher politics, bureaucratization, ideology, foreign policy, and the development of the satellite states. Describes the pattern of Soviet society in general, the instability of its executive organizations, and the causes of group dissatisfactions.

RUSH, MYRON, *The Rise of Khrushchev*, Public Affairs Press, 1958, \$3.25. An original and interesting study of the rise to power of Nikita Khrushchev by a member of the Rand Corporation.

SKOSEN, W. CLEON, *The Naked Communist*, Ensign Publications, 1958, \$6.00. The history of Communism and its inroads in the United States. STRAUSZ-HUPP, ROBERT, et al., *Protracted Conflict*, Harper, 1959, \$3.95. Analyzes Communist strategy, examines the principles guiding Communist conflict management, and discusses the techniques and stratagems of the Cold War.

STRATZS-HUPE, ROBERT, et al., *A Forward Strategy for America*, Harper, 1961, \$5.95. A prescriptive treatment of the problems posed in *Protracted Conflict*. Addressed to the necessities which urge upon the United States a strategy beyond survival, and in the book the general concepts for such a strategy are set forth.

THAYER, CHARLES W. and the Editors of *Life, Russia, Life* World Library, Time Incorporated, 1960, \$2.95. A well-written, profusely illustrated look at the Soviet Union—its history, its economy, its government, and its people.

United States Chamber of Commerce. *World Challenge*. Washington, D. C. \$1 per year. A bi-monthly bulletin of interpretation and comment on economic developments, with emphasis on analysis of socialist and controlist trends, both here and abroad.

General Economics Textbooks (Useful as a supplement to all eight pamphlets)

BACH, GEORGE L., *Economics: An Introduction to Analysis and Policy*, Prentice-Hall, 1954, \$6.00.

BURNS, ARTHUR, ET AL., *Modern Economics*, Harcourt, Brace, and Co. 1953, \$5.75.

COUNCIL FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SECONDARY EDUCATION, *Capitalism and Other Economic Systems*, 1959, \$50.

LUCKS, WILLIAM N. and HOOT, J. W., *Comparative Economic Systems*, Harper & Brothers, New York, 5th edition 1957, \$6.50.

OXENFELDT, ALFRED R., *Economic Systems in Action*, Rinehardt, 1952, \$1.50.

ROBINSON, MARSHALL A., ET AL., *An Introduction to Economic Reasoning*, The Brookings Institution, Washington, 1956, \$3.00.

SAMUELSON, PAUL A., *Economics: An Introductory Analysis*, McGraw-Hill Co. 1961, \$6.95.

SMITH, AUGUSTUS, *Economics For Our Times*, McGraw-Hill Co. 1959, \$5.48.

UNITED STATES CHAMBER OF COMMERCE, *The American Competitive Enterprise Economy*, Washington, D. C. Set of 17 pamphlets is \$6.00. Pamphlets for teaching adult economics in the form of an Economic Primer for local economics discussion clubs. Directed at the interested intelligent layman. Useful in senior high schools and colleges. Discussion questions. Tape recordings and questions for each pamphlet; kit \$85.00.

United States Chamber of Commerce, *Economic Intelligence*, Washington, D. C. \$1 per year. A monthly bulletin of interpretation and comment on economic developments, with emphasis on analysis of socialist and controlist trends, both here and abroad.



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